41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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until they have finished all curing for that night: in fact there must be daylight before the door is unbolted. For this reason the fire must be made so that there is not too much smoke, for the houses have no chimney and windows must not be opened during the night. "No air should come inside and no air should go outside," I was told.

The only food the patient is allowed during each night of the curing is "cooling" food, given him before the cure begins. If he is a non-vegetarian he should not eat meat until he has recovered.

The therapist cleans the pounding-stone and crushes the bark on it with an iron crowbar. The other plants, apart from the strips of Indian willow bark, are then cleaned and pounded with the bark until a paste is formed. This takes an hour or more to complete. The paste is put in a pot with some water and the pounding stone and crowbar are washed with water. This water is added to the pot, which is then put on a fire and boiled continuously for half an hour.

Up to this point (in the curing of one patient, anyway) light had come from the electric lamp. Now the therapist lights all five wicks of the oil lamp; and if no such lamp is to be found in the house one is made out of cowdung, still with the five wicks. It should only burn clarified butter, but if none is in the house then groundnut or some other oil can be used instead. The patient sits in the middle of the inner room, while the therapist puts five four-anna silver coins belonging to the patient's family under the lamp. All of these coins have the head upwards—or nowadays the Ashoka Capital instead.

On the floor near where the mixture has been cooked the therapist smears some cowdung. He puts the lamp on this, with one of the coins under each wick-nozzle. The patient sits there on a sack, and is covered up with four blankets over his head so that no air can get in to him. The first blanket

caused some rearers of livestock to start keeping compost pits. In each hamlet or village there is usually a grassy clearing or raised platform where male representatives meet and Badagas gather to chit-chat. A large tree (often a Ficus sp.) may shade this meeting place. Some Badaga women still must fetch water from nearby springs or streams, but many Badaga hamlets and villages now have water piped to faucets set near house-rows. A burial-cremation center is within easy walking distance from each Badaga community. Most Badaga communities have roads running to or through them, and a fair number of these roads are asphalted. Scheduled buses run over some roads, and a few Badagas now drive individually or jointly owned cars, buses, station wagons, and trucks.

Houses. Prior to 1840 the Badagas lived in a house type with front porches and two rooms separated by a wall with a door. A small front door led into one room, and there was a fireplace in the other darker room. Thatched roofs were supported by posts, and walls made with bamboos or reeds woven between the posts were then daubed. However, some houses had clay and stone walls (Harkness 1832: 36; Birch 1838: 103; Hough 1829: 89). According to data obtained by Jagor (1876: 193-194), each thatched clay and stone house in an examined house-row had an entranceway leading on the right to a front room. This room had a right side storage platform and a mortar built into the floor on the left. From the front room a door led to a bathroom extending the full width of the house, and another door led to a kitchen paralleling the front room. The fireplace for cooking was

342 located across from the latter door. At the right of each entranceway
(354) there was a low porch and to the left a low porch and small stall, or
(231) a stall only. Buffalo calves were sheltered in each stall. The entranceway and features to right or left of it were protected by the single side-gabled roof covering all houses within the row.

By 1870 some houses were whitewashed; by 1880 whitewashing was
356 a more widespread practice and house roofs were being tiled; by 1895
342 sleeping platforms made from broad and thick planks were replacing
352 interior storage platforms; and by 1935 most Badaga houses had brick or stone walls, tiled roofs, and sleeping platforms (Shortt 1868: 58; Grigg et al. 1880: 225; Sastri 1892: 757; Ranga 1934: 5). However,
342 despite these and other changes, the Badaga house type as described
(356) by Jagor and others remains essentially the same (Figure 18). Most houses now have whitewashed brick walls, and roofs are commonly made with sawn timbers, corrugated iron sheets, and tiles. Front entranceways may be located to the right or left. If there is a right
342 entranceway, a sleeping platform replacing the storage platform men-
353 tioned by Jagor will be against the right wall of the front room. A
(352) mortar in the floor and rotary quern (usually present) will be near the wall on the opposite side, and all other features within the house will be arranged accordingly. If there is a left entranceway, a sleeping platform will be against the left wall, mortar and rotary quern will be near the wall on the opposite side, and all other interior features will accordingly be reversed from left to right. The
342 room for bathing (himbara) no longer runs all the way across the back, but is located behind the front room (ithamanai). The open doorway

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 1271]

346 the entranceway. If a storeroom is built on a porch, it will be right of a left entranceway or left of a right entranceway. As in houses, arrangement of interior features is dependent upon a left or right entranceway. If there is a left entranceway, a sleeping platform will (353) be built against the left wall in the front room (Figure 18). This room frequently has a back door, and the open doorway leading from (354) front room to kitchen is arched. The kitchen fireplace, located opposite the door, is used for cooking food to be offered to the deity and then given to worshipers. A sacred room, entered through an arched 346 doorway identical to doorways separating front and kitchen rooms in 778 houses and temples, replaces the hagoru found in houses. Within the sacred room the deity's image is placed upon a shelf to the right. Besides other minor storage platforms, there is usually a storage platform covering the sacred room. Unlike houses, a temple does not have a bathroom.

Badagas also build temples which are variants of a small Hindu 346 temple type constructed all over India. Although these vary in size 778 and shape, they contain certain basic features. The deity's image is 532 housed in a small, dark inner sanctuary surrounded by brick walls and often surmounted by an ornate cupola. Images of animals, goddesses, gods, and saints constructed from terra cotta or rod metal covered by morter, then painted over with many bright colors, often cover a 346 cupola. Attached to the deity's room there may be one or two rooms, but sometimes there is an open-sided shed with compacted earth or cemented floor, pillars of stone or wood, and a roof covered by corru- 778 gated iron sheets or tiles. In front of any Shiva temple there is

342 an entranceway may be placed on either its left or right side. In addition to the front door, a rear or side door is also included. A (231) chicken coop is sometimes built on the veranda, and a large grain [353] basket, quern, firewood, or other objects may be stored there. In house interiors, through placement of storage baskets or dividing wall construction, a left kitchen side may be visibly differentiated from the right living area and sleeping side. If there is no visible reminder, occupants simple remember that such a division exists. As [352] there is no sleeping platform, household members sleep on mats spread [513] over the floor each night. The kitchen fireplace is located next to [354] the center of the left wall, and there is sometimes a large circular [353] drying basket suspended over it. An upper storage platform extending over the warmer kitchen side is reached by a ladder.

346 A Nilgiri Wynaad Badaga temple may outwardly be constructed somewhat like a house (Figure 23). The Devala temple has no inner or outer posts, so squared wooden rafters are attached to wall plates and [778] an emplaced ridgepiece. The hipped roof is tiled. Inside the temple there are two large stone bulls (Nanthis) and an altar next to the center of the rear wall. Temples of a distinctive type serving as worship centers to Badagas and their neighbors have square bases, grilled woodwork in side walls, and pyramidal roofs plated with copper [778] sheets (Plate XII, C). In each temple's interior there is a walled room holding a deity's image, a ceremonial knife, and other ritualistic paraphernalia. Smaller shrines with similar appearance (Plate XII, D) [777] have platforms in their central interiors. The sacred structures with pyramidal roofs are identified with so-called Chinese temples in

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
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764 [237] [312] over the four twigs. The eldest relation now descends into the pit and performs his last act of worship to the dead body by lighting (or rather throwing into the fire) perfumes. This ceremony is called *Mîlapâla*—the passing of the thread (of the manes over the dead man.) Several petty things are then placed in the grave. First of all a *Linga*, which is supposed to give to the dead eternal felicity in the other world. Then come a small gold coin called *Virarâyapana* of the old Maisûr mint, a milking vessel a bambu measure, rice and other condiments, a stick with a silver knob, an umbrella and a new basket are also placed in the grave. These are supposed to be of service to the departed individual in the other world. Whatever may be omitted, the *Linga* and the *Virarâyapana*, the bambu measure and the milking vessel (*Hoṇe*) must always be placed in the grave. Even the poorest Badaga must not grudge these to his dead relation.

After all these arrangements are completed and the dead body is thus provided with what it needs for its journey to the other world all stand round the grave and the eldest son, or the nearest agnatic kinsman if there is not a son, takes three handfuls of earth and pronounces the following *mantra* or incantation :—

Jatige śêru janage śêru
Hotta hettappane śêru
Mutta muttappanê śêru :

'Mix on with your class, mix on with your people, mix on with your forefathers and mix on with the forefathers of your forefathers' All pronounce this and throw down three handfuls of earth each. The meaning is plain ; the soul of the departed is requested to join the souls of the forefathers of the family who have already departed from this life. Then the grave is covered up. In thus covering up the grave the earth must not be passed between the two legs of the person who throws it in. Then five small stones are placed over the closed grave, one at each of the four corners and one in the middle. The spade which was used in digging the grave is stuck to its handle in a reversed position and is dragged from south to north and cast away. All the men then proceed to the river, bathe, and return to their homes by dark. When they return home a lamp is lighted and is worshipped by every one of these persons. It may here be mentioned incidentally that the worship of lighted lamps is a characteristic feature of the Badaga religion. In every house the lighted lamp is worshipped, and it is a belief among them that if a light dies out of itself in a house every kind of prosperity will

778 789 [354]